

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 AF-06

ARA-06 CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-06 EUR-12 PM-03 H-02 INR-07

IO-10 L-03 NASA-01 NEA-10 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02

PA-01 PRS-01 OES-03 SS-15 SAJ-01 /107 W

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O R 252103Z MAY 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3206

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MEXICO

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION IAEA VIENNA

ERDA GERMANTOWN

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3860

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJ: NPT REVCON: REQUEST FOR GUIDANCE ON NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES  
AND SECURITY ASSURANCES

1. SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE REPORT ON SITUATION AS OF  
MAY 24 ON NFZ-SECURITY ASSURANCES ISSUES, DESCRIBES MAIN  
ELEMENTS OF DRAFT SECTION FOR FINAL CONFERENCE DECLARATION  
ON THESE ISSUES THAT CANADIANS ARE CURRENTLY PREPARING,AND,  
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IN INTEREST OF SEEKING CONSENSUS ON ISSUE IN ACCORDANCE WITH

DEL'S INSTRUCTION, REQUESTS AUTHORIZATION TO GO ALONG WITH  
SUBSTANCE OF JAPANESE FORMULATION ON SUBJECT. END SUMMARY

2. DURING COMMITTEE I DISCUSSIONS MAY 23 ROMANIAN AND  
IRANIAN DELS INDICATED SOME FLEXIBILITY ON THEIR  
RESPECTIVE PROPOSALS, ON NON-USE ASSURANCES AND NUCLEAR-FREE  
ZONES. END (ROMANIA) SUPPORTED DRAFT ADDITIONAL PROTOCOL III  
ON NON-USE ASSURANCES, BUT RECOGNIZED THAT CONCRETE ACTION  
ON PROPOSAL AT THIS CONFERENCE MIGHT NOT BE FEASIBLE. HE  
THEREFORE SUGGESTED THAT CONSTRUCTIVE CONFERENCE  
RECOMMENDATION ON THIS SUBJECT MIGHT INVOLVE CALL FOR  
FURTHER STUDY AND CONSIDERATION OF QUESTION OF NEGATIVE  
ASSURANCES. BAYANDOR (IRAN) SAID HIS DEL WAS FLEXIBLE ON  
WHETHER IRANIAN NFZ PROPOSAL WOULD TAKE FORM OF RESOLUTION  
OR SECTION OF FINAL CONFERENCE DECLARATION. HE STATED,  
HOWEVER, THAT PRESENT TEXT OF PROPOSAL WAS CAREFULLY  
DEVELOPED TO ACCOMMODATE DIFFERING VIEWS OF CONFERENCE  
PARTICIPANTS, AND THEREFORE URGED CONSENSUS ON BASIS OF  
THAT TEXT. HE NOTED, IN PARTICULAR, THAT PREAMBULAR PARA  
TWO AND OP PARA ONE WERE DESIGNED IN PART TO SATISFY  
NUCLEAR WEAPON STATE CONCERNS THAT REGIONAL ARRANGMENTS  
MUST MEET CERTAIN CONDITIONS BEFORE NON-USE  
UNDERTAKING  
WOULD BE APPROPRIATE.

3. JAPANESE DEL HAS FOLLOWED DEBATE ON ASSURANCES VERY  
CAREFULLY, STRESSING IMPORTANCE OF SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME FOR  
DIET RATIFICATION OF NPT. NISIBORI, AT DINNER HOSTED BY HIS  
FOR SELECTED WESTERN, EASTERN AND NON-ALIGNED DELS MAY 23,  
MADE IMPASSIONED PLEA FOR INCLUSION IN FINAL DECLARATION OF  
PROVISION ON STRENGTHENING SECURITY OF NNWS. HE NOTED THAT,  
IN LIGHT OF STRONG JAPANESE CONFIDENCE IN RELIABILITY OF  
US-JAPANESE MUTUAL SECURITY TREATY, DIET DEMANDS FOR SUCH  
RESULT AT CONFERENCE ON SECURITY QUESTION WERE "INSCRUTABLE."  
NONETHELESS, HE INSISTED THAT UNLESS RESULTS WERE FORTHCOMING,  
THERE WAS GOOD PROBABILITY THAT DIET WOULD NOT RATIFY TREATY  
IN NEAR FUTURE, PERHAPS NOT FOR SEVERAL YEARS. HE SAID  
GOJ FULLY RECOGNIZED THAT NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES HAD  
DIFFICULTY UNDERTAKING NON-USE COMMITMENTS AND THAT THEREFORE  
DIET REQUIREMENT WOULD ADEQUATELY BE MET EVEN IF RESULTS  
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WERE QUITE "MODEST." IT WAS ESSENTIAL, HOWEVER, FOR  
CONFERENCE TO TAKE SOME CONCRETE STEP ON SECURITY ASSURANCES,  
AND CERTAINLY DESIRABLE IF GOJ WOULD BE SEEN BY DIET AS  
HAVING BEEN INSTRUMENTAL IN ACHIEVING THAT RESULT.

4. AT MAY 23 MEETING OF NATO PLUS JAPAN, CANADIAN DEL  
SUGGESTED THAT GROUP WORK OUT A REFERENDUM DRAFT SECTION OF  
FINAL DECLARATION DEALING WITH NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES AND

SECURITY ASSURANCES. TEXT WOULD REPRESENT GROUP'S CONCEPTION OF WHAT FINAL COMPROMISE SECTION OF DECLARATION WOULD LOOK LIKE. IT WOULD THEREFORE HAVE TO TAKE ACCOUNT AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE OF PROPOSALS, SUCH AS ROMANIAN AND IRANIAN, ALREADY SUBMITTED TO CONFERENCE. CANADIANS FURTHER SUGGESTED THAT ONCE GROUP HAD FIRM IDEAS ON FINAL VERSION THAT WAS BOTH ACCEPTABLE TO ALLIES AND RESPONSIVE TO APPROACHES IN OTHER PROPOSALS, IT COULD THEN DISCUSS TACTICS OF HOW TO GET THERE, INCLUDING WHICH PARTS OF TEXT TO HOLD BACK AS BARGAINING CHIPS.

5. GROUP ACCEPTED US SUGGESTION THAT FOCUS OF SECTION SHOULD BE ON (AND THAT ITS TITLE SHOULD BE) "STRENGTHENING THE SECURITY OF NON-NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES." THIS WOULD TAKE SPOTLIGHT AWAY FROM NON-USE ASSURANCES AND BROADEN FOCUS TO INCLUDE MORE PRACTICAL MEANS OF STRENGTHENING NNWS SECURITY, SUCH AS ADHERENCE TO NPT. AFTER DISCUSSION OF ISSUES, CANADIAN DELOFF SAID HE WOULD WORK OUT FIRST DRAFT OF "COMPROMISE" FINAL VERSION INCLUDING FOLLOWING SUBSTANTIVE ELEMENTS: (A) RECOGNITION OF IMPORTANCE OF STRENGTHENING SECURITY OF NNWS IN PROMOTING NON-PROLIFERATION; (B) AFFIRMATION OF IMPORTANCE OF EXISTING MUTUAL SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS IN PROMOTING SECURITY OF MANY NNWS, WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT SECURITY NEEDS OF NON-ALIGNED STATES ALSO DESERVE ATTENTION; (C) REAFFIRMATION OF ROLE OF SECURITY COUNCIL RES 255; (D) MENTION OF ARTICLE VII OF NPT AND STATEMENT, ALONG LINES OF IRANIAN PREAMBULAR TWO, THAT INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED NFZ'S IN APPROPRIATE REGIONS COULD REPRESENT EFFECTIVE MEANS OF CURBING PROLIFERATION; (E) CALL ON STATES TO COOPERATE IN ESTABLISHMENT OF NFZ'S UNDER EFFECTIVE CONDITIONS AND WITH ADEQUATE VERIFICATION, ALONG LINES OF IRANIAN OPERATIVE ONE; (F) CALL ON NNWS TO GIVE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO NON-USE  
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ASSURANCES IN NFZ CONTEXT (USING LANGUAGE OF IRANIAN PREAMBULAR OPERATIVE TWO WITH OUR CHANGES); (G) REMINDER OF VALUE THAT NPT ITSELF HAS FOR STRENGTHENING NNWS SECURITY; (H) RECOGNITION THAT NNWS SECURITY CONCERNS INVOLVE BOTH CONVENTIONAL AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS; (I) REAFFIRMATION OF SUPPORT FOR INDEPENDENCE, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND SOVEREIGNTY OF NNWS (TAKEN FROM OP PARA ON OF PAKISTANI-SPONSORED UNGA RES 3261G, WHICH WE SUPPORTED); (J) CALL ON ALL STATES, BOTH NNWS AND NNWS, TO REFRAIN, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE UN CHARTER, FROM THE TREAT OR USE OF FORCE IN RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES WHETHER EMPLOYING NUCLEAR OR NON-NUCLEAR WEAPONS (I.E., PARA THREE OF JAPANESE PROPOSAL WITH OUR CHANGES); (K) RECOMMENDATION THAT FURTHER STUDY AND CONSIDERATION IN APPROPRIATE FORUMS BE GIVEN TO EFFECTIVE MEANS OF STRENGTHENING THE SECURITY OF NON-NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES, ALONG LINES OF

OP PARA TWO OF UNGA RES 3261G (TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF POSSIBLE ROMANIAN WILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE ON BASIS OF "FURTHER STUDY," WITHOUT REFERRING, OR LIMITING STUDY, SPECIFICALLY TO NON-USE, WHICH ROMANIANS WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY PREFER.)

6. CANADIAN DEL HAS UNDERTAKEN TO DRAW UP FIRST DRAFT OF SECTION FOR DISTRIBUION TO MEMBERS OF NATO/JAPAN GROUP MAY 26. IT WOULD BE MADE CLEAR AT THAT TIME THAT FINAL "COMPROMISE" VERSION SHOULD NOT BE SHARED WITH OTHERS IF IN FACT IT WAS TO BE THE FINAL COMPROMISE.

7. GUIDANCE REQUESTED: AUTHORIZATION TO SUPPORT JAPANESE PROPOSAL, EITHER AS SEPARATE RESOLUTION OR AS INPUT TO FINAL DECLARATION, PROVIDED PHRASE "IN PARTICULAR NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATES" IN OP PARA THREE IS REPLACED BY "BOTH NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES AND NON-NUCLEAR STATES".

8. IN US DEL'S VIEW, SUPPORT FOR JAPANESE PROPOSAL IS NECESSARY IF WE ARE TO HAVE ANY CHANCE OF SATISFYING NON-ALIGNED AND THUS ACHIEVING CONFERENCE CONSENSUS. JAPANESE LANGUAGE, WHILE HOPEFULLY ATTRACTIVE TO NON-USE PROPONENTS BECAUSE OF ITS SUPERFICIAL SIMILARITY TO NON-USE PROPOSALS THAT HAVE BEEN MENTIONED HERE, ACTUALLY DOES NOT GO BEYOND OUR EXISTING OBLIGATION NOT TO USE FORCE (WHETHER CONVENTIONAL OR NUCLEAR) OTHER THAN IN CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH IT IS AUTHORIZED BY THE UN CHARTER (E.G., INDIVIDUAL OR COLLECTIVE  
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## Message Attributes

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